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THE GREAT USURPATION.

THE UNITED STATES

UNDER

THE CONFEDERATE

Senate and House of Representatives

AN OLIGARCHY.

What is an oligarchy? Webster defines an oligarchy as "a form of government in which the supreme power is placed in the hands of a few persons;" that is, the rule or reign of a minority. And what in the United States, at present, under the two Confederate Houses of Congress, is the character of the reign? Is it not that of an oligarchy—that of the unlawful domination of an unprincipled minority—a minority of the vote actually and pretendedly cast in the election of the members of the present House, as also a minority of the electoral colleges—a minority of the population, of the wealth, taxes, and intelligence of the States and nation; but which, through violence and blood, and a multitude of infamous and fraudulent agencies, have seized upon a majority of the National Legislature, have trampled under foot the Constitution and the laws, have usurped the powers of the majority, and despoil it and the nation of millions annually through the taxation of its industry and wealth.

The following table, compiled from official data, demonstrates the truth of the above:

A.

States.	Electoral vote.	Vote in 1878 for present House of Represent- atives.	Population in 1870.	Wealth in 1870.	Literacy — cannot read according to census of 1870.	Taxation in 1878—	
						From customs.	From internal revenue.
<i>Republican.</i>							
1 California.....	6	.....	560,247	\$638,767,017	24,877	\$6,444,933 20	\$2,146,790
2 Colorado.....	3	28,656	39,864	20,243,303	6,297	.....	83,508
3 Connecticut.....	6	102,423	537,454	774,631,524	19,680	366,167 97	580,336
4 Illinois.....	21	450,115	2,539,891	2,121,680,579	86,368	1,500,873 01	19,668,791
5 Iowa.....	11	257,986	1,194,020	717,644,750	24,115	16 55	958,851
6 Kansas.....	5	137,892	364,399	188,892,014	16,369	.....	153,358
7 Maine.....	7	124,478	626,915	248,155,671	13,486	310,601 34	70,696
8 Massachusetts.....	13	253,218	1,457,351	2,132,148,741	74,935	13,051,010 19	2,424,364
9 Michigan.....	11	255,423	1,184,059	719,208,118	34,613	273,497 52	1,692,803
10 Minnesota.....	5	99,654	439,706	228,999,590	12,747	41,454 72	275,003
11 Nebraska.....	3	50,217	122,993	69,277,483	2,365	.....	699,821
12 Nevada.....	3	18,774	42,491	31,131,012	727	.....	59,017
13 New Hampshire.....	5	75,605	318,300	252,624,112	7,618	14,324 86	228,188
14 New Jersey.....	9	195,761	906,096	940,976,061	37,057	2,325 90	5,095,325
15 New York.....	35	866,482	4,382,759	6,500,841,261	163,501	93,085,262 81	14,951,520
16 Pennsylvania.....	29	694,163	3,521,951	3,808,340,112	131,728	6,933,768 63	5,917,422
17 Rhode Island.....	4	18,242	217,353	296,965,616	15,416	162,443 97	246,760
18 Vermont.....	5	59,573	339,551	235,349,553	15,185	397,188 56	44,339
19 Wisconsin.....	10	206,172	1,054,670	702,307,329	35,031	53,883 88	2,431,301
	191	3,834,684	19,841,070	21,828,696 882	722,115	122,657,753 11	57,638,194

The above is not a showing of a "Solid North" as against a "Solid South," but a showing upon the basis of the actual representation in the present national House of Representatives, including in the Democratic States Indiana and Oregon, as also Ohio, which through the infamous gerrymandering of the State by the Democracy has a Democratic majority in its representation in the House, while the Republicans had in 1878 a plurality of 10,998 in the vote by which they were elected. But even with the suppression, either by violence or fraud, or both, of the entire Republican vote in all the States South, and granting the Democracy in the Confederate States the fraudulent figures which they claim, with the strength and wealth of Indiana, Ohio and Oregon, all of them upon a fair and constitutional vote decidedly Republican States, the majority in the two Confederate Houses of Congress, the Confederate Democracy in the Senate and House, are in the country in a hopeless minority.

In illustration let us recapitulate the facts in the above table.

In the electoral colleges the Republican States, as represented in the present House, have 191 votes against 178 of the Democratic States—a Republican majority of 13.

On the popular vote, exclusive of California, as reported as cast in 1878, for Congress, with all its violence and tremendous Democratic frauds, its suppression of the entire Republican vote in all the Confederate States, the 19 Republican States embrace a total of 3,834,684 votes against 2,839,135 of the Democratic States—a Republican majority of 995,549, and, including the vote of California, a Republican majority of over a million votes.

In population, according to the census of 1870, the 19 Republican States embrace 19,841,070 persons against 18,314,435 of the Democratic States—a Republican majority of 1,526,635—a Republican majority of over a million and a half.

Of the wealth of the nation, of a total valuation of \$30,942,778,443, the Democratic States possess only \$9,114,681,561; the Republican States possess \$21,828,096,882—\$12,713,415,321 more than the Democratic States; indeed, nearly *three-fourths* of the total wealth of the nation.

Of the taxation for the support of the Government, to meet the vast liabilities saddled upon the nation as the effect of the Democratic rebellion for the destruction of the Constitution and the Union, of a total of \$130,146,847.18 paid in 1878 as customs duties, \$122,657,753.11 was collected in and paid by the Republican States—only \$7,489,094.07 was collected in or paid by the Democratic States; that is \$115,168,659.04 more were collected and paid in the Republican than in the Democratic States, or in the Republican States were paid over *fifteen-sixteenths* of the whole customs revenue of the nation. Of a total of \$104,518,632 from internal revenue in 1878, \$57,638,192 was collected and paid in the 19 Republican States, and \$46,880,439 in the Democratic States; that is, \$10,757,754 more were collected and paid in the Republican than in the Democratic States.

In 1878 only whisky and tobacco, banks and bankers, and patent medicine adhesive stamps were taxed. But the following table shows who, in the last 13 years, since the close of the rebellion, paid the vast sum collected as internal revenue :

B.

Years.	Collected in all the States.	Collected in the eleven Confederate States.	Collected in Ohio.	Collected in Illinois.	Collected in New York
1866	\$309,226,613 42	\$20,645,919 16	\$25,257,710 12	\$15,249,678 00	\$68,810,834 76
1867	266,027,537 43	34,604,660 48	20,134,516 35	11,956,633 68	57,973,220 95
1868	191,087,589 41	31,332,186 85	12,364,867 99	7,624,747 89	39,644,583 49
1869	158,356,460 86	9,864,765 97	16,135,972 31	13,055,230 23	35,497,463 68
1870	154,899,756 49	14,605,147 26	19,437,515 04	18,186,366 35	36,514,889 37
1871	143,098,153 63	11,633,429 85	15,295,450 73	15,270,842 03	28,665,183 96
1872	130,642,177 72	9,927,231 96	14,928,135 07	15,798,722 40	23,446,577 34
1873	113,729,314 14	12,271,587 43	14,870,277 83	16,452,020 60	19,312,323 60
1874	102,469,784 90	10,517,422 55	15,644,834 77	15,357,938 15	15,255,280 87
1875	110,067,493 58	11,919,151 92	14,707,712 50	17,678,267 57	15,224,556 71
1876	116,700,732 03	11,120,556 11	16,591,136 59	23,708,545 60	14,609,335 07
1877	118,639,467 83	12,321,994 16	15,479,511 30	21,896,588 24	14,458,326 50
1878	110,581,624 74	11,142,042 45	14,762,979 94	19,631,732 21	14,963,599 92
Total in 13 yrs..	2,055,397,846 18	201,906,096 15	215,010,620 54	211,887,312 35	384,406,776 25

Thus, in 13 years, from 1866 to 1878, in support of the national honor, as a means of honestly and promptly liquidating the immense obligations indicted upon the nation by the Democracy in rebellion, the Government was compelled to collect of the people, as internal revenue, the mighty sum of \$2,055,397,846.18! Of that sum the 11 Confederate States, the guilty authors of our immense public debt, paid only \$201,906,096.15! The single loyal State of Ohio alone paid \$215,010,620.54, or \$13,104,524.39 more than all the Confederate States combined. Illinois alone paid \$211,887,312.35, or \$9,981,216.20 more than all the Confederate States. New York alone paid \$384,406,776.25, or \$182,500,680.10 more than all the Confederate States—nearly twice as much as all of them combined.

And with this comparative poverty, this immense inferiority in the popular vote as in population and wealth—this immense inferiority as taxpayers—the Democratic States monopolize almost wholly all the ignorance, with its consequent evils, of the nation. According to the census of 1870, as shown above, in table "A," the 19 Republican States contain only 722,115 persons of all ages who cannot read; but the Democratic States, the land of the kuklux, shot-gun, and bowie-knife, the bloody ground of political murders, outrage and fraud, contain 3,722,288, or 3,000,273 more than the Republican States—nearly five-sixths of all the ignorance of the nation.

Nevertheless, this minority—the Confederate and Copperhead Democracy, ignorant, violent and bloody, and looking to the spoils of the national Treasury—the sack of the nation—through a conquest of the National Government—as a means of rescuing its oligarchal leaders, the old pro-slavery landowners of Secession, from personal bankruptcy and sinking into obscurity as a parvenu class—this seditious and disloyal minority have, through violence and fraud in a thousand forms, seized upon a majority of the two Houses of Congress. *They again impudently usurp the power of taxing the majority!*

And by what agencies have these old conspirators against the honor, the liberties and peace of the nation, succeeded in thus practically subjugating the nation—its numbers, wealth, and intelligence? Let us analyze the composition of the two Houses of Congress, and review the agencies by which they were elected.

In the House, of its present 293 members, the Democracy count 155—

55 from the North. The Republicans count 137—only 6 from the South. Thus the South, the old Confederate enemies of the Republic, are solid against the nation—are solid in a new conspiracy to subvert the constitutional rule of the majority—to force the loyal masses, as of old, to pay them tribute—to remunerate the Confederacy and its leaders for their losses in the rebellion which they fomented for the destruction of the nation and its liberties. They have suppressed, violently and fraudulently, the Republican vote in all the States South. Although in 1876 the Republicans polled, even by the Confederate count, 1,096,626 votes; although, on the color line alone, 27 Congressional districts South are Republican, and should in Congress be represented by Republicans, yet 6 Republicans only are returned from that section to the present House. Undoubtedly other districts of the Confederacy, upon a constitutional, free, or fair vote, would return Republicans; but merely strike from the Democratic vote in the House that of the 21 districts notoriously seized through violence and fraud by the Democracy ($153-21=134$) and add them to the Republican vote, ($137+21=158$.) and the present House would, as it should, be Republican by 24 majority. Usurpation through shot-gun outrages, bloody raids and ballot-box stuffing, give to it a Democratic majority of 21. A like result follows in the Senate. Strike from the Democratic vote in that body those usurped through violence and fraud—those of Alabama, 2; Arkansas, 2; Georgia, 2; Louisiana, 1; Mississippi, 1; North Carolina, 2, and South Carolina, 2= 12 , and add them to the Republican vote, ($33+12=45$.) and the Senate would, as it should be, Republican by a majority of 15. *Only usurpation through bloody violence, terrorism, and fraud makes it Democratic by a majority of 9.*

Nor is this review open to doubt. The facts are too clear, too positive, to admit of a successful challenge. In 1868 General Grant received in the South 57 electoral votes—those of Alabama, 8; Arkansas, 5; Florida, 3; Missouri, 11; North Carolina, 9; South Carolina, 6; Tennessee, 10; West Virginia, 5. In 1872 General Grant received in the South 55 electoral votes—those of Alabama, 10; Florida, 4; Mississippi, 8; N. Carolina, 10; S. Carolina, 7; Virginia, 11; and West Virginia, 5. But in 1876 General Hayes received in the South only 19 electoral votes—those of Florida, 4; Louisiana, 8; and South Carolina, 7. What, in 1876, had become of the Republican majorities in Alabama, Arkansas, Missouri, North Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, and West Virginia, by which General Grant in 1868 received 57 electoral votes, and in 1872 47 votes? *Violently suppressed in blood and terrorism and fraud!*

In Arkansas, in 1868, General Grant received 22,112 votes and the electoral college of the State. On the Congressional vote of 1868, the Republicans polled 22,039 votes and elected 2 of the 3 members of Congress, and in the Legislature, on joint ballot, a majority of 98. In 1872, General Grant received 41,373 votes and the electoral college of the State; the Republicans elected 2 members of Congress, and 40 majority of the Legislature on joint ballot. Even in 1876 General Hayes was allowed 38,669 by the Confederate count. But the Democratic vote was fraudulently placed at 58,071. A solid Democratic delegation to Congress was declared, and the Legislature, on joint ballot, from 98 Republican majority was transformed into 86 Democratic majority. In the first Congressional district of the State, in 1868, the vote was, for the Republican candidate, 7,151; for the Democrat, 6,987= $14,138$. In 1876, in that district, no opposition was allowed, and the Democratic candidate for Congress quietly counted 15,841 votes, the total vote of the district; but in 1878 a count of only 8,863 was all that was needed to send a Democrat to Congress, while the Republican vote disappeared from the State. What,

in 1878, had become of Grant's majority of 1868 and 1872? What, indeed, of Hayes's vote in 1876 of 38,669, an absolute majority of the actual vote of the State? *Suppressed in blood and terrorism and fraud!*

In Georgia, in 1866, the registered vote of the State was—white, 95,803; colored, 93,458; and in 1876 the Republicans polled, even upon the Confederate count, for General Hayes, 50,446 votes. At the Congressional election of 1878, the Republican vote almost wholly disappeared; only 5,257 votes were cast, or rather, counted—3,643 for Wade in the second and 1,614 for Archer in the ninth district; 69,808 votes elected the 9 members of the present House, a solid anti-Republican delegation to Congress. In 1876, in the third Congressional district of the State, the Republicans polled 4,280 votes for Pierce, for Congress; but in 1878, only two years later, Cook, Democrat, was elected to the House by a total vote of only 2,628. What had become of the 4,280 Republican votes polled in 1876 for Pierce? In 1878, in the eighth district, Alexander H. Stephens was elected to the House by a total vote of only 3,355 against 58 scattering. In 1876, in the sixth district, the Republicans polled 4,578 votes for Gove, for Congress; but in 1878 Blount, Democrat, was elected to the House by a total vote of only 3,192. What had become of the 4,578 Republican votes polled for Gove in 1876, only two years before? What, indeed, had become of the 50,446 polled only two years before, in 1876, for Hayes? *Suppressed by the kuxlux in blood and terrorism and fraud!*

In Louisiana, in 1867, the registered vote was—colored, 84,431; white, 45,09—a Republican majority on the color line alone of 39,232. In 1872 Grant received 71,663 votes, and the Republicans elected a solid delegation to Congress. In 1876 the registration showed a Republican majority of 22,314. Even by the Confederate count in 1876 General Hayes received 77,174 votes, but only two years later, in 1878, that heavy Republican vote disappeared, and a unanimous Confederate delegation was returned to Congress. What had become of the registered Republican majority in the State from 1867 to 1876? What, indeed of Hayes's heavy vote of 1876? *Suppressed by the "Knights of the White Camelia" in blood and terrorism and fraud!*

In North Carolina, in 1868, General Grant received 96,769 votes, (12,168 majority,) and the electoral college of the State. The Republicans elected 5 of the 7 members of Congress, and of the Legislature, on joint ballot, a majority of 70. In 1872 Grant received 94,769 votes (24,720 majority,) and the electoral college of the State. In 1876 General Hayes, even by the Confederate count, received 108,417 votes, but only two years later, in 1878, that large vote, a majority of the actual vote cast in 1876, almost wholly disappeared. In the first Congressional district 12,565 Republican votes were counted, and a Republican returned to Congress. In 1876, in the 11th Congressional district, the Republicans polled 10,283 votes for Jordan for Congress, but in 1878 a count of only 4,908 votes returned a Democrat (Steele) to Congress. Only 258 were counted against him. What had become of the 10,283 Republican votes polled in the same district only two years before? In the eighth Congressional district, in 1876, the Republicans polled for Hampton for Congress 7,493 votes, but in 1878, a count of only 2,894 votes returned Vance, Democrat, to the present House. What had become of the 7,493 Republican votes polled in the 8th district only two years before? What had become of Grant's heavy majorities of 1868 and 1876? What, indeed, of Hayes's large vote in 1876? *Suppressed in terrorism, blood and fraud!*

In Alabama, in 1867, the registered vote was—colored, 90,340; whites, 74,450—a Republican majority on the color line alone of 15,890. In 1868 General Grant received 76,366 votes and the electoral college of the

State. In 1872 Grant received 90,272 votes and the electoral college of the State. The Republicans elected 5 of 7 Congressmen and a heavy majority in the Legislature. Even in 1876, under the manipulation and frauds of the Confederates, 68,230 votes were counted for General Hayes; but only two years later, in 1878, at the election for governor, not a single Republican vote was counted. In the fourth Congressional district, 6,545 Republican votes were counted for Haralson for Congress against 8,514 for Shelley, a Democrat. In 1870, the population of that district, embracing the counties of Dallas, Hale, Lowndes, and Perry was—colored, 109,218; whites, 32,349—a colored majority in population of 76,869. In 1876 the Republicans were allowed a count of 15,750 votes; but in 1878 a count of only 8,514 returned a Democrat to Congress in a district Republican by a majority at least of 10,000. On the State ticket no opposition was tolerated, and the Republican vote, a majority of the State, wholly disappeared. What had become of Grant's majorities of 1868 and 1872? What, indeed, of Hayes's vote in 1876 of 68,230? *Suppressed by the shot-gun in blood and terrorism and fraud!*

In South Carolina, in 1867, the registered vote was—colored, 80,286; whites, 47,010—a Republican majority on the color line alone of 47,010. In 1870, the population of the State was—colored, 415,814; whites, 189,073—a colored majority of 126,741. In 1868, at the Presidential election, General Grant received in South Carolina 62,301 votes and the electoral college of the State. In 1872, Grant received 72,290 votes (49,587 majority) and the electoral college of the State. A solid Republican delegation was elected to Congress, and of the Legislature on joint ballot a majority of 95. In 1876, General Hayes received 91,870 votes; Tilden, supported by the rifle clubs, only 90,906. But in 1878, how many Republican votes were cast, or rather counted? On the governor's vote not one. Only 213 were counted as scattering. Not a single Republican member was returned to Congress. The Democratic vote was increased to 119,550, by which was elected the 5 members of the House, a solid delegation to Congress, and of the Legislature on joint ballot a majority of 142. What in 1878 had become of Grant's heavy majorities of 1868 and 1872? What, indeed, of Hayes's vote of 91,786 polled in 1876—only two years before? *Suppressed by the rifle clubs in blood and terrorism and fraud!*

In Mississippi, in 1867, the registered vote was—colored, 60,167; whites, 46,636. The population in 1870 was—colored, 444,201; whites, 382,896—a Republican majority on the color line alone of 61,305. In 1869, Alcorn's (Republican) majority was for governor 38,089. In 1872, General Grant's majority was 34,887. In 1873, Ames' (Republican) majority for governor was 20,467; and in 1874, the majority on joint ballot in the Legislature was 30. In 1876, even by the Confederate count, General Hayes received 52,605 votes. But in 1878, the Republican vote, an immense majority of the State, almost wholly disappeared. Only 2,085 Republican votes were returned as cast, a solid Confederate delegation was returned to Congress, and an almost unanimous Democratic Legislature was counted in. What, in 1878, had become of the Republican majority of the State? What, indeed, of Hayes's vote in 1876? *Suppressed by the shot-gun in blood and terrorism and fraud!*

And in the organization of the two Houses of Congress, the power thus usurped through violence and blood has been recognized and enlarged. In the Senate the Democracy count 42 votes—30 from the South and only 12 from the North. In the House they count 155 votes—100 from the South and only 55 from the North.

In the Senate, of its 28 standing committees, the Confederates have the chairmanship of 17 of the most important—those on Privileges and Elec-

tions, on Finance, Appropriations, Commerce, Agriculture, Post Offices and Post Roads, Indian Affairs, Pensions, Claims, District of Columbia, Territories, Education and Labor, Railroads, Civil Service and Retrenchment, etc. And they have not only the chairmanships of these important committees, but all the committees of the Senate are so constituted as to give the control of them to the Confederates. In every case the majority of the committee is Democratic; but a majority of that majority is also Confederate, which gives the latter a control of the committee by controlling the majority. Thus—

The Committee on Privileges and Elections, just now a most important committee, which practically decides all cases of contested seats in the Senate—all questionable rights to seats—is composed of 9 members—6 Democrats and 3 Republicans; but 5 of the 6 Democrats are Confederates; 1 is from the North or loyal States.

The Committee on Finance is composed of 9 members—5 Democrats and 4 Republicans; but 3 of the 5 Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Appropriations is composed of 9 members—5 Democrats and 4 Republicans; but 3 of the 5 Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Commerce is composed of 9 members—5 Democrats and 4 Republicans; but 4 of the 5 Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads is composed of 9 members—6 Democrats and 3 Republicans; but 5 of the 6 Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Claims, just now, in view of the immense amount of pending rebel claims—hundreds of millions—a committee of the grandest importance to the South as it is to the nation, is composed of 9 members—5 Democrats—all Confederates—and 4 Republicans.

The Committee on the Election of President and Vice President, truly a most important committee to our whole people, is composed of 9 members—6 Democrats and 3 Republicans; but 4 of the 6 Democrats are Confederates.

And so on through all the Senate committees. A majority of the majority of the committee are Confederates, and consequently control it under the caucus rule on all important questions.

The petty State of Delaware is given the chairmanship of the two important committees on Privileges and Elections and Finance; the great State of New York the Committee on Patents. West Virginia is given the Committee on Appropriations; the great State of Pennsylvania that on the Revision of the Laws. Georgia is given the Committee on Commerce, Texas the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, Virginia the Committee on Pensions, North Carolina the Committee on Railroads, Tennessee the Committee on Education and Labor, South Carolina that on Civil Service and Reform; while the great maritime and industrial States of the North, East and West, the great taxpayers of the nation, the proprietors of its wealth, thrift and intelligence, are practically excluded from any voice in shaping legislation for the control of the interests in which their citizens are so largely concerned.

In the House the same rule governs in the distribution and composition of its committees. Of its standing committees, 42 in number, 22, and the most important ones, have Confederate chairmen—those on Appropriations, on Banking and Currency, Commerce, the Judiciary, Pacific Railroads, Railways and Canals, Coinage, Weights and Measures, Post Offices and Post Roads, Claims, Education and Labor, Accounts, etc. As in the Senate, so in the House—all the committees are so constituted as to give the control of them to the Confederates. Thus:

The Committee on Elections, which practically decides all cases of contested seats, is composed of 15 members—9 Democrats and 6 Republi-

cans; but 6 of the 9 Democrats, a majority of the majority, are Confederates—only 3 are from the North or loyal States.

The Committee on Ways and Means, the committee which controls or fixes the taxes of the nation, is composed of 13 members—8 Democrats and 5 Republicans; but 5 of the Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Appropriations is composed of 15 members—9 Democrats and 6 Republicans; but 6 of the 9 Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Banking and Currency is composed of 11 members, 7 Democrats and 4 Republicans; but 4 of the Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Pacific Railroads is composed of 13 members—8 Democrats and 5 Republicans; but 6 of the 8 Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on War Claims, the committee which must decide on all rebel claims, is composed of 11 members—6 Democrats and 5 Republicans; but 4 of the 6 Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Commerce is composed of 15 members—10 Democrats and 5 Republicans; but 7 of the 10 Democrats are Confederates.

The Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads is composed of 11 members—7 Democrats and 4 Republicans; but 5 of the 7 Democrats are Confederates.

And so the Committee on Public Expenditures, and the respective committees on the expenditures of the executive departments, the Committee on Foreign Affairs, on the Judiciary, on Accounts, Printing, Invalid Pensions, etc.—all so constituted as to give the control of them to the Confederates.

In both Houses the Committee on Education and Labor is given to the Confederates. In the Senate 3 of the 4 Democrats, constituting the majority of the committee, are Confederates; and in the House the majority of the committee are all Confederates—(5 Confederates and 4 Republicans)—are all men, the cardinal maxims of whose caste in the old oligarchy, prior to 1861, and who act upon those maxims to-day in their States in their treatment of the laborer, were, that "certain menial employments," all manual labor, "are incompatible with mental cultivation," with education, and accordingly punished then, as now, as crimes, all attempts to introduce within their limits popular education; that "raiment, food and shelter," the physical wants of the animal, were the highest needs of the laborer; that the negro, brutalized by slavery, was in bondage superior "mentally, morally, and socially," to the white workmen in freedom. Hence, that "*slavery was the natural and normal condition of the laborer*;" that "*slavery was right and necessary, whether white or black*;" and lustily shouted as their favorite slogan; "*Liberty for the few—slavery in every form for the masses!*" Such were up to the latest hour of their old dominion, and are now, the principles and the aims—the revival and extension of slavery, and the perpetuity of ignorance among the masses—of the oligarchal caste to which in both Houses of Congress have been given, and designedly, the committees on Education and Labor.

And as a part of the Great Usurpation the committees on the Ascertainment and Declaration of the Election of President and Vice President are in both Houses in the hands of the Confederates. In the Senate the committee is composed of 4 Confederates, 1 Northern Democrat, and 3 Republicans. In the House the committee is composed of 7 Democrats and 4 Republicans, but 4 of the 7 Democrats are Confederates; and so constructed deliberately with implied instructions to devise and report some plan or scheme, however unlawful or revolutionary, by which to enable the oligarchal minority to count out the loyal or national candidates for President and Vice President, if elected by the people, no matter how

large their majority on the popular vote, or how decided in the electoral colleges—to fraudulently seize upon the next Presidency—to restore by force and fraud the Confederates in all branches of the National Government.

Sedition, treasonable plottings, turbulence, and scenes of blood and devilry like the Chisholm massacre and the Dixon assassinations, and the countless assassinations during the last twelve years all over the late Confederacy, are indigenous to their daily life. Like the brutal oligarchs or pro-slavery nobles of the Middle or Dark Ages, whose institutions or laws our old slave owners largely adopted, imbibing with them the sanguinary and cruel instincts of the ages from which they were adopted, and whose tyranny and lives they still imitate; like those noble oligarchs, as ignorant as sanguinary, ever in revolt against their king, or engaged in furious raids against their neighbors, murdering, burning, and plundering; like them, to our old pro-slavery oligarchs, our recent slave owners and their descendants, the exercise of power through violent scenes of devilry forms the highest gratification of their natures. Peace, obedience to law, is absolutely their hell. Hence into Congress, upon obtaining possession of its two houses, they naturally transferred the turbulent spirit which rules in their States, and attempted to coerce the President by revolutionary expedients—by riders on appropriation bills—into an approval of or acquiescence in their violent plans under a threat of starving the Government. In all their proceedings in Congress for the last two sessions, the Democracy—a majority of the two Houses—substituted the caucus for the law—the caucus for the Constitution. The Confederates or Southern wing of the Democracy, by their numerical preponderance, ruled in the caucuses and dictated and shaped all its measures—all of them of a violent or revolutionary character, all of them looking to a consummation of their usurpations—the seizure of the Presidency by violence and fraud through the destruction or repeal of the election laws.

As in the Confederacy and before the world they load with unmerited calumny the wretched victims of their murderous violence as a justification of their crimes, so in Congress, as a justification of their revolutionary expedients looking to the crowning infamy of their usurpations—the seizure of the Presidency in 1880—they slandered the Republican party: they traduced the party which, while rescuing the nation from their traitorous efforts to destroy it by force of arms, magnanimously spared the halter denounced by the laws against their crimes; they accused and denounced it as having used, and as being in favor of continuing the use, of troops at the polls. No fouler slander was ever invented or uttered by traitor in extenuation of his guilt. When and where were troops ever used by the Republicans at the polls? At what election? When and where by any party but the Democracy, as at Washington, in June, 1858, on "Bloody Monday," when, under the orders of a Democratic President, James Buchanan, at a petty municipal election, the streets of the national capital were reddened with the blood of its unoffending citizens under the fire of the regular soldiery? No troops were ever so used by the Republican party. Not a single instance has ever been cited—not a single instance can be cited. Not one by any party but the Democracy.

But the men so recently confederated in arms for the destruction of the Constitution and the laws, and whose presence to day in the national Senate and House is due wholly to the suppression of the Republican vote in all the States South by bloody violence, by murder, massacre and intimidation at the polls by the ku-klux, white league, and other armed brigand gangs—these men in Congress raised the cry of "*An Untrammeled Ballot, Free Elections, No Troops at the Polls,*" as a blind

to their own guilt, as well as a justification of their threat to starve the Government in revenge for its protection of the election laws of the United States against their revolutionary efforts to repeal them—to destroy the only guarantees of the citizen at the polls of a free and untrammelled vote. The dishonesty of the cry, its hypocrisy and transparent purpose, is exposed in the fact that the Government, even if disposed to resort to intimidation at the polls, to violate every rule of its policy and practice, and of the great and law-abiding party which supports it, has no troops at its command for the purpose. At the present time there are—

In Alabama **32** United States soldiers in arsenal.

In Arkansas **57** soldiers.

In Delaware not one.

In Florida **182** United States soldiers at 3 separate barracks, navy yards, &c.

In Georgia **29** United States soldiers.

In Kentucky not one.

In Louisiana **239** United States soldiers.

In Maryland **192** United States soldiers at Fort McHenry.

In Mississippi not one.

In Missouri not one.

In North Carolina **30** United States soldiers at fort at mouth of Cape Fear river.

In South Carolina **123** United States soldiers guarding Charleston harbor.

In Tennessee not one.

In Texas not one outside of frontier guard.

In Virginia **282** United States soldiers at school of practice at Fortress Monroe.

In West Virginia not one.

In all the South only 1,166 soldiers with which to intimidate a population estimated at 15,000,000 persons. In the South there are 1,203 counties. Hence there are in the South less than *one* soldier to a county—only *one* soldier to every 700 square miles. Truly a formidable force, and one certainly calculated to intimidate the rifle clubs and other armed gangs which infest all the late Confederate States. But in New England, from which we have no complaints of the election laws, there are 123 United States soldiers to every 1,000,000 of its citizens; in the South only 70. Hence it is not a fear of the troops which influences the Democracy in their cry against the election laws, but a wish to remove the United States supervisors of election, provided by those laws, from the polls on election day, and thus open out to them in the large cities of the North a clear field for the frauds—wholesale illegal voting and ballot box stuffing—by which they propose to seize the next Presidency.

In 1861, in all the South, of its 8,937,075 white people, only 383,637 were slave owners. But few as they were, they constituted the Southern oligarchy of the past—its dominant or ruling faction. They framed or dictated all its laws upon every subject, social, civil and political; monopolized all the civil offices of the State, filled its judiciary and all the commands of the militia; interdicted all popular education, burning school-houses, and whipping, expelling or murdering the teachers; educated its ignorant white masses in their own violent sentiments—a hatred of all freedom or progress, and of labor and the laborer—a hatred of the negro or slave as a God-degraded caste, incapable of all improvement. Thus they organized the oligarchy under which they maintained their crushing rule, and punished all hostility to their tyranny in outrage and torture and blood. Literally the people of the South prior to 1861—the

white majorities of its respective States—were the merest cyphers in all things political or social. They had no voice or influence in the body politic. They were held and ruled practically as subjects or serfs of the oligarchal slave owners.

So to-day, in all the States South, certainly in all the recently Confederate States, we have but a revival, a restoration, of the disgusting and degrading old oligarchal rule in all its turbulent wickedness. Again, the oligarchal-minority tramples into the dust the Constitution and the laws. Again it crashes out all freedom of opinion, all freedom of action, all hostility or opposition to its tyranny in outrage and torture and blood—in massacres like the Chisholm—in assassinations like the Dixon.

The old slave owners, or their descendants, educated in the sedition, tyranny, and bloody violence of the old oligarchal system, intensified by the experiences and hatred generated by the rebellion, and comprising but a petty faction of even the white population of their respective States, again monopolise, as a right inherent in their oligarchal caste, all the offices of the State. Again they fill the local judiciary, all the commands of the local militia, all the places of their Legislatures. Again they arrogantly frame all their laws, socially and politically, in the spirit of tyranny and in support of their caste. Again they violently suppress all attempts at popular education, burning school-houses, whipping, expelling, and murdering teachers. Aye, in uncontrollable hatred of the nation, an inextinguishable hatred of the Constitution, with its guarantees of freedom and political equality, they elect to Congress as their representatives and the representatives of their States the men most infamous for their cruelties and crimes in rebellion—men like Chalmers, of Mississippi, the bloody butcher of Fort Pillow; and even propose to admit into the United States Senate, without a removal of the disabilities for his manifold crimes of treason, the sanguinary Corypheus of the rebellion, the embodiment of State rights and secession, the old Moloch of Anderson and the Libby—Jeff Davis.

And if they succeed either by force or fraud, or both, and they have no other hope of success in the grand aim of all their usurpations, in seizing upon the Presidency in 1889, and in retaining a majority in both Houses of Congress, woe to the nation and people. "With fury will they rule," and ruin will follow in their train.

Let there be no mistake as to their ends and purposes—as to the character of their reign. All their past, the whole history of their oligarchal caste in our own, as in all other nations, from time immemorial, proclaim what its character will be—a cruel reign of iron and blood. Neither fear nor mercy nor pity will deter or induce them to modify one iota their programme of ruin. Indeed, they will rejoice in the ruin they cause. An inextinguishable hatred, a craving for revenge upon those who resisted and defeated their attempts to destroy the nation by rebellion, will, as in their own States, blindly rush them forward in their destructive measures—an inextinguishable hatred of the Union, of the Constitution and amendments, with their guarantees of freedom and political equality—a hatred of our loyal people, of the prosperity, wealth, and intelligence of the loyal States, because the success of those States, as exemplars of freedom and popular rights, condemn and denounce their own barbarous oligarchal system. Hence their reign in control of all branches of the National Government will be a reign of hatred and revenge—a reign in contravention of and hostility to the Constitution and the laws—a reign as inexorable, as arbitrary, cruel, and bloody, as that of the old sanguinary Venetian Council of Ten.

Although comprising but a mere fraction of even the white population of their States—about the proportion which existed in 1861—of

States themselves embracing a mere fraction of the wealth, intelligence and population of the nation, yet, even under a Constitution which declares that only a majority shall rule—only a majority legally cast, without intimidation or force or fraud—the Confederates will, by the success of their usurpations, govern, aye, reign over, the majority of the nation. Once in authority of the executive and legislative branches of the Government, and ruling the judiciary, supported by the army and navy, their will, regulated by hate and a spirit of revenge, will be embodied in and form the basis of every act of Government. They will transfer to the National Government, in lieu of the Constitution and the laws, the barbarous system which prevails in the Confederacy.

As they have in the organization of the two Houses of Congress; as they have in the governments of all the States under their control—in every city, town, and meanest hamlet of those States, so, in the National Government, they propose to expel from power and place, not merely every Republican, but every Union man, woman and child—every patriot soldier—every patriot soldier's widow and child. They will trust none, they will appoint none, but rebel sympathizers—none but Confederates in spirit or fact.

"Woe worth the day!" They will reorganize the United States Supreme Court, all the courts of the United States, in the interest of State rights and secession; and by decisions from courts thus reconstructed denouncing as unlawful the coercion of the Confederate States in rebellion—denouncing as unconstitutional and void Mr. Lincoln's Proclamation of Emancipation and the late amendments to the Constitution ratifying that proclamation and guaranteeing to the emancipated people political and civil rights—the rights of citizenship—by such decisions they will deprive the colored men of those rights, compel the payment by the Government to the old slaveholders, or their heirs, of losses caused by the liberation of their slaves, *hundreds of millions in amount*, and force in some form the liquidation of all losses from all causes of the Confederates in rebellion. *Who will dare estimate the amount?* *

As in their own States they have sealed or practically repudiated the debts of those States, so in possession of all branches of the National Government, in possession of its taxes and the national Treasury, the Confederates will, under the decisions of the reconstructed United States courts, repudiate the public debt as unlawfully contracted in coercing the Confederacy in rebellion, and force the payment of the rebel debt as one inflicted upon the Confederacy by the unlawful agencies of the National Government, thus robbing our loyal people absolutely of thousands of millions, and spreading ruin broadcast over the nation.

In the name of free trade they will abandon the tariff laws which now protect our home industries, and strike a heavy blow at our manufactures, greatly injuring if not wholly ruining them; destroy the home market of our farmers, cripple the business and trade and all the industries of our people, and cheapen the wages of our workingmen and

* What the total of claims for these losses would be no man can estimate, but the known amount so far is appalling, as is shown in the following table.

Refunding direct tax of 1861.....	\$2,492,110
Refunding cotton tax, principal and interest.....	170,180,230
Special relief bills (Forty-fourth Congress).....	2,181,479
Use and destruction of property and supplies destroyed or used by Union forces in the Confederate States, (under bills of Riddle, of Tenn., and Wilshire, of Ark.) estimated at.....	2,410,326,000
Compensation for slaves.....	400,000,000
Payment of rebel mail-contractors up to July 1, 1861.....	375,000
	<hr/> \$2,985,554,827

A sum greater than the total of the public debt at the close of the war.

laborers—aye, reduce them to want, to beggary—in the interest of the few with fixed incomes from real estate and bonds, and the like, unaffected by foreign competition.

And they will support all by a reorganization of the army and navy. Loyal officers will be expelled from their commands—the Shermans, Sheridans and Popes—men who, for years in the field, periled their lives and shed their blood in defense of the nation and its liberties, and will be replaced by men, many of whom were educated at West Point by the public bounty, but who, in 1861, in violation of their oaths, left their commands to join the rebellion—to join the traitors in arms for the destruction of the Constitution and the Union.

Will our loyal masses submit? A vast majority of the Republic—a majority of its wealth and intelligence and its principal tax-payers—submit to the usurped authority of an oligarchal few—the ruinous reign of the vengeful foes of the nation and its liberties? Has not our people in the past, and certainly during and since the rebellion—has not the nation suffered enough through the usurpations and crimes of this turbulent caste?

For over 50 years prior to 1861 these old conspirators against freedom and progress insolently dominated in the Government and nation. They taxed the majority. They exacted tribute of the commerce and industries of the nation in support of their “peculiar institution”—that “execrable sum of all villainies”—domestic slavery. They appropriated, as a matter of right inherent in their caste, the lion’s share of the honors, offices and their emoluments of the State at home and abroad. They prostituted the lives and blood of our people, hundreds of millions of the national treasure, in foreign wars—in infamous schemes for the acquisition of foreign territory for the extension and perpetuity of human slavery, and resisted all plans of internal improvement by the national Government—all plans for the advancement or in aid of the commerce and industries of our people.

After such a domination, through so long a period, ever preying like the vulture upon the great heart of our people, these Confederate oligarchs, in 1861, threw up the banner of revolt: they impiously raised their mailed hands against the life of the nation! As a caste the scepter was about to be wrenched from their grasp. Civilization and freedom, and their attendants, popular education and popular rights, with irresistible power, were on all sides pressing their oligarchy, and new lights and aspirations were awakening even among their own white masses. The old brutal, obscene and tyrannical institution, domestic slavery, was threatened with overthrow: their own supremacy and power as the dominant caste was menaced.

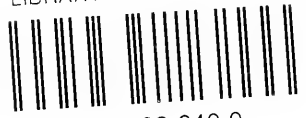
To rescue all from the impending ruin thus threatened by the advance of civilization, to strengthen and perpetuate domestic slavery, and with it their own supremacy and power, they revolted against the nation. Nor did they leave the world in doubt as to their designs—the establishment upon the ruins of the National Union of a new Confederacy, a barbarism pure and simple, with domestic slavery as its corner-stone—a grinding tyranny of oligarchal slave-masters in which would be revived all the horrors of the Dark Ages. For years prior to their revolt, in their press, in Congress, and in their Legislatures—even in their pulpits—they infamously advocated the enslavement of the white masses of the North, as well as those of the South. They declared “free society a failure.” One enlightened oligarch, the erudite and astute Keith, of South Carolina, in Congress, declared: “The existence of mechanics and laborers [free white workingmen] in society is due to the partial and progressive emancipation of slavery.” Slavery, he urged, was their “natural and normal



condition ;" and declared that "when they [the white workingman and laborer] stepped out of bondage, they branched off into four constantly recurring subdivisions—the thief, the beggar, the hireling, and the prostitute." Hence, "*free society was a failure*"—"an abortion"—"*was radically rotten and wrong!*" And hence their slogan : "*Slavery is the natural and normal condition of the laborer!*" "*Slavery is right and necessary whether WHITE or black.*" "*Liberty for the few—slavery in every form for the masses!*"

Thus, upon the ruins of the nation, upon the ruins of liberty and free institutions, they proposed to erect a barbarism in which free society and free labor would be expelled—in which master and slave, the oligarchal few organized into a reigning caste and the masses white and black in slavery, would be the only classes. In that terrible revolt for a purpose so infamous, they, in round numbers, inflicted upon the nation a loss of 500,000 lives, slain in support of the Constitution and the Union, multiplying widows and orphans and woe and suffering throughout the land—a loss in treasure of \$5,000,000,000, and created a public debt which will embarrass and burden our children's children for generations to come. With this really appalling record in the present and past, with their prodigious crimes and consequent injuries to the nation and the people still fresh in the memories of all, this unprincipled and turbulent caste, having again, by the old agencies of the oligarchy—usurpation through terrorism, blood, and fraud—seized upon the majority of the two Houses of Congress, are now again combined with the Northern Copperhead Democracy in a new conspiracy for the conquest of the Republic through a seizure of the Presidency—a conspiracy to accomplish by fraud what they failed to effect by force of arms—the ruin of the nation! Will the majority submit? God save the Republic!

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